



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

V.—*The Relation of Accent to Elision in Latin Verse, not including the Drama.*

BY PROF. ALBERT GRANGER HARKNESS,

BROWN UNIVERSITY.

IT is the purpose of this paper to consider some of the phenomena of elision in Latin poetry. Though elision occurs most frequently in the drama, yet its use can in some respects be better studied in those forms of verse in which it is employed in a more restricted way and conforms to more definite rules. I shall accordingly consider the subject from this point of view. I desire first to show that the sense-pause occurring in elision should be observed in reading Latin and that there is evidence in the structure of the verse that this was the intention of the poet. I employ the word *elision* to denote such a union of a final vowel (or vowel with final *m*), with the initial vowel of a following word as gives the value of one verse-syllable. The term *syllable* is employed in referring to the second element of elision, though technically this is only one part of the verse-syllable. The term *pause-elision* is used, for the sake of brevity, to denote those cases of elision in which a sense-pause occurs between the vowels forming the elision. I shall take for granted, without reviewing the arguments, that as a rule both vowels in elision are to be sounded. There seems to be sufficient authority to justify this position,<sup>1</sup> and most modern metricians agree in accepting this theory of the pronunciation.<sup>2</sup>

I desire first to establish the principle which may be briefly stated as follows: The second syllable in pause-

<sup>1</sup> The most important passages relating to this subject which are to be found in our ancient authors are cited in Corssen, *Aussprache*, II<sup>2</sup>, 771 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Kühner, *Lat. Gramm.* II, 96; Schmidt, *Rhythmic and Metric*, trans. by J. W. White, 5 ff.; L. Müller, *Rei Metr. Summarium*, § 33, 61; Christ, *Metrik der Gr. u. Röm.*<sup>2</sup> § 44, 32; Gleditsch, *Metrik der Gr. u. Röm.* in I. Müller's *Handbuch*, II, 3<sup>3</sup>, § 41, 89; Plessis, *Métrique Grèque et Latine*, § 19, 17.

elision does not admit a strong sentence-accent. This principle is not like a physical law, or even like a law of phonetics, working in exactly the same way in all cases. To establish the fact that the poet intended to make a distinction between pause-elision and elision in which the elided words are closely connected in thought, it would be only necessary to prove that he showed a marked tendency to treat the two cases differently.

In order to bring out more clearly the general difference in the treatment of the two classes of elision I shall first contrast the usage in the two cases as exemplified by the first book of the *Aeneid*. I shall then note those cases in the works of Vergil, Horace, and Catullus which seem to be somewhat exceptional in character, and I shall next consider more briefly the usage of other authors. Vergil makes the most varied and effective use of elision, yet Horace in some of his *Satires* and Catullus in his shorter poems employs it with greater boldness and freedom. Even in Vergil we see a difference in usage between those passages which are conversational in tone and those which are more formal and elevated in style.

In taking up the first book of the *Aeneid*, I shall first refer to those cases of elision in which the elided words are closely connected in thought and which have an accent on the second syllable of the elision. I shall divide these cases into three classes :

1. Those in which the second syllable of the elision is long and is the accented syllable of a noun.
2. Those in which the second syllable is long and is the accented syllable of some other word than a noun.
3. Those in which the second syllable is short.

1. As illustrations of the first class we may cite the following : 43 evertitque aequora, 5 a ;<sup>1</sup> 95 ante ora, 2 a ; 123 inimicum imbrem, 3 t ; 142 tumida aequora, 5 a ; 152 arrectisque

<sup>1</sup> The number denotes the foot in which the elision occurs; *a* denotes that it is in the arsis; *t* that it is in the first syllable of the thesis; a small number to the right of the letter denotes that it is in the second syllable of the thesis. Arsis is used to denote the strong, or accented, part of the foot.

auribus, 5 a; 161 scindit sese unda, 5 a; 175 suscepique ignem, 2 t; 177 corruptam undis, 3 t; 177 cerealiaque arma, 3 t; 334 and 349 ante aras, 2 t; 349 atque auri, 4 a; 383 convulsae undis, 3 t; 424 molirique arcum, 2 t; 442 iactati undis, 3 t; 506 saepta armis, 1 t; 531 atque ubere, 5 a; 537 perque undas, 1 t; 625 ipse hostes, 1 t; 660 atque ossibus, 4 a; 687 atque oscula, 4 a; 743 unde imbrem, 5 a.

2. Illustrations of the second class are such combinations as: 32 maria omnia, 5 a; 98 animam hanc, 4 a; 263 bellum ingens, 1 t; 476 curruque haeret, 3 t; 626 seque ortum, 1 t; 191 nemora inter, 4 a.<sup>1</sup>

3. Illustrations of the short accented syllable are such as the following: 114 ante oculos, 2 t; 202 revoke animos, 3 t; 385 atque Asia, 2 t; 489 easque acies, 2 t.<sup>2</sup>

Turning to pause-elisions, the question arises, What are we to consider a sufficient pause to mark the distinction between the two classes of elision? The stronger pauses are marked by punctuation in our editions, and viewing the literature as a whole this might be adopted as our general standard. Punctuation is in many respects arbitrary. Ribbeck's *Editio Stereotypa*, 1903, which we take as the basis of our discussion of Vergil, differs in this respect not only from other editors, but also from his own earlier editions. In the first book of the *Aeneid* I have noted upwards of seventy-five pause-elisions in which the second syllable of the elision is long. All but twelve of these are marked by punctuation either in the edition of Ribbeck or Heise, and in all these elisions the pause corresponds to the principal caesura, or to one of the two main caesuras of the line. The following will illustrate the character of these pause-elisions:

13 Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe.  
48 bella gero. et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat.  
96 contigit oppetere ! O Danaum fortissime gentis.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 69, 175, 189, 218, 243, 429, 475, 476, 524, 537, 547, 695, 738.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 57, 65, 125, 347, 464, 511, 567, 705, 743, 744. I have not attempted to enumerate all the instances of these three classes of elision found in this book, but have given the most striking examples.

251 navibus (infandum !) amissis unius ob iram.  
303 corda volente deo ; in primis regina quietum.<sup>1</sup>

The second syllable of pause-elisions consists of (1) words not accented on the first syllable, as *Italiam*, *amissis*, etc.

(2) words which are usually employed as sentence-enclitics, as *et*, *atque*, *ac*, *aut*, *ut*, *utque*, *in*, *O*, *haut*.<sup>2</sup>

There are three pause-elisions in which the second syllable is short :

514 laetitiaque metuque : avidi coniungere dextras.  
571 auxilio tutos dimittam opibusque iuvabo.  
753 immo age, et a prima, dic, hospes, origine nobis.

In the first of these the second syllable of the elision is accented.<sup>3</sup>

Contrasting the two types of elision in which the second syllable is long, we see that when the elision occurs with words which are closely connected in thought, the second syllable is very frequently strongly accented, and is in many cases the accented syllable of a noun, and that this does not occur in the case of pause-elision.<sup>4</sup> In fact, so rarely does the long accented syllable occur as the second syllable of pause-elision, that the total number of such instances in all the verse of the Golden Age is very small, — smaller even than the number of such cases found in the first book of the *Aeneid* alone when the words forming the elision are closely connected in thought. This difference of treatment in the two types of elision certainly cannot be accidental.

While observation shows that the nature of the second

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 28, 30, 35, 41, 49, 63, 90, 101, 117, 119, 134, 151, 158, 180, 186, 193, 207, 238, 244, 246, 248, 258, 276, 295, 298, 301, 323, 344, 380, 387, 389, 396, 406, 414, 424, 425, 434, 445, 447, 458, 478, 486, 519, 520, 526, 540, 542, 554, 564, 566, 577, 591, 614, 622, 627, 647, 653, 655, 658, 660, 662, 666, 669, 672, 684, 704, 714, 727, 739.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Greek οὐ. "Es war also das Verhältniss der Negation zum verbum finitum dasselbe wie das Verhältniss der Präposition," Delbrück, *Syntakt. Forsch.* IV, 147.

<sup>3</sup> The nature of this accent will be considered on p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> In line 16 *hic*, and in line 405 *ille*, occur after a vowel with an intervening pause, and in both cases hiatus is used.

word in pause-elision is regularly as I have stated, yet some apparent exceptions and irregularities occur which deserve special attention.<sup>1</sup>

ii, 78 vera 'inquit, 1 t;<sup>2</sup> 548 genitori. illi, 3 t; 550 morere.' hoc, 2 a; iii, 45 ego. hic (adv.), 3 a; 408 sacrorum, hunc, 4 t; iv, 35 esto, aegram, 1 t; v, 484 persolvo; hic, 2 a; 535 longaevi hoc, 4 t; 644 Iliadum. hic, 2 a; 681 posuere; udo, 3 t; vi, 43 aditus centum, ostia centum, 5 a; viii, 364 aude, hospes, 1 t; ix, 333 singultantem; atro 3 t; 427 me me (adsum . . . , 1 t; 454 Numaque. ingens, 3 t; x, 61 redde, oro,<sup>3</sup> 1 t; 703 comitemque, una quem nocte, 3 t; 905 odia; hunc, 3 a; xi, 353 unum, optime regum, 5 a; 664 postremum, aspera virgo, 5 a; xii, 532 solo; hunc, 4 a; *Ecl.* i, 13 ago: hanc, 3 a; vii, 8 aspicio. ille, 2 a; *Georg.* ii, 187 dispicere: hoc, 2 a; iii, 101 praecipue, hinc, 2 a.

Horace, *Sat.* i, 3, 20 vitia? immo, 3 a;<sup>4</sup> 5, 12 ingerere: huc appelle, 2 a; ii, 1, 83 iudiciumque. esto, 2 t; 2, 30 petere! esto, 6 a; 3, 236 possideam: aufer, 6 a; 283 magnum? addens, 2 t; 307 vitio. 'accipe, 5 a; 7, 72 ego, hercule, 4 a; *Carm.* iii, 30, 7 Libitinam: usque.

Catullus 9, 1 Verani, omnibus; 14, 19 Suffenum, omnia; 75, 4 amare, omnia; 114, 3 aucupium, omne; 8, 9 tu quoque, impotens, noli; 13, 1 Fabelle, apud me; 29, 18 Pontica: inde; 61, 171 aspice, intus; 71, 6 odore, ipse; 77, 2 frustra? immo; 5 eripuisti, eheu; 6 vitae, eheu; 114, 3 prata, arva, 5 a; 115, 5 prata, arva, 1 t; 62, 5 Hymenaeae, Hymen, 3 t.

<sup>1</sup> I shall not give further illustrations of the enclitics mentioned on p. 85 (2).

<sup>2</sup> Similar elisions of *inquit* are not infrequent. Cf. *Aen.* ii, 387; v, 348, 353; viii, 439; *Georg.* iv, 494. There is not a marked pause before *inquit*; it is a question whether any pause in the reading is to be made in this case. The sense-pause as well as the principal caesura comes after *inquit*. Furthermore *inquit* is an unemphatic word, the weak narrative "s'd he." The second element of pause-elision may be the accented syllable of a word used parenthetically. This usage is very common in the drama.

<sup>3</sup> Similar to the use of *inquit* (cf. footnote above) is the parenthetical use of *oro*.

<sup>4</sup> I shall not cite further illustrations of *ille* and *hic* in pause-elision. I have noted the following cases in Horace and Catullus: Horace, *Sat.* i, 3, 57 illi; i, 9, 41 ille; *Carm.* iii, 3, 33 illum; *Epod.* 9, 6 illis; *Sat.* i, 4, 136 hoc; ii, 3, 152 hoc; *Carm.* i, 19, 13 hic; Catullus, 100, 3 ille; 27, 7, hic; 29, 9 and 76, 8 haec; 56, 6 hunc; 91, 2 hoc; 100, 3 hoc; 107, 2 hoc.

Lucretius i, 980 hoc pacto sequar atque, oras ubicumque locaris. Persius iii, 7 itane? ocius adsit 5 a; Juvenal vi, 281 ipsa! olim convenerat 3 t; Statius *Theb.* iii, 348 vociferans: arma, arma viri, 3 a.

Turning to those cases of pause-elision in which the second syllable is short, we find numerous examples in which the second element of the elision is an accented syllable even of a noun. As examples we may cite: Verg. *Aen.* v, 483 tibi, Eryx; vi, 344 responso animum; viii, 450 redduntque, alii; xii, 142 fluviorum, animo; 945 ille, oculis; *Ecl.* 3, 88 qui te, Polio, amat; 94 parcite, oves; 97 ipse, ubi.<sup>1</sup>

I have endeavored to cite from the verse of the later republic and the early empire those cases of pause-elision which might seem to be the most exceptional in relation to the accent of the second syllable of the elision. I have noted certain cases in which there is the sense-pause, though it is not indicated by punctuation in our texts, and certain other cases in which punctuation is given, but in which a natural rendering of the thought would not make a pause. Let us examine a few lines in illustration of the latter case:

*Aen.* viii, 364 aude, hospes, i t. In the case of this vocative we have the standard punctuation, but there it no real pause either in the thought or verse. Brugmann (*Vergl. Gramm.* I<sup>2</sup>, § 1043, 953) states that in the primitive Indo-Germanic the vocative was unaccented when it did not stand first in the sentence. While the Latin has preserved many of the characteristics of the Indo-Germanic, it is not necessary to attribute this character of the vocative entirely to that influence, for we see a similar usage in modern languages. When the vocative is unemphatic as here, it is little more than an unaccented pronoun and it is almost as closely associated with its verb. In view of these considerations and the fact that we find elision in the poets in connection with the vocative, Corssen (II<sup>2</sup>, 780) does not seem justified in his statement that elision

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Georg.* ii, 18; iii, 95; iv, 172, 318; Horace, *Sat.* i, 2, 30; 5, 71; 6, 61; ii, 3, 117, 150, 180, 260; ii, 7, 2. I have noted ten similar cases in Catullus, but I have not attempted to make a complete list of either of the three authors cited.

is impossible before *Eruci* in Cic. *pro Sex. Roscio*, 50 Ne tu, Eruci, accusator esses ridiculus.

*Aen.* iv, 35 esto, aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti. This occurs in a conversational passage, and such passages allow greater freedom in elision and a nearer approach to ordinary speech, yet there is hardly a more marked pause to be observed here than there would be between a verb and its object clause.

*Aen.* ix, 427 me me (adsum qui feci), in me convertite ferrum. The nature of the thought indicates haste and does not allow a marked pause before *adsum* (see also p. 108). Experimental phonetics shows that in the reading of poetry haste is indicated rather by the shortening of the pauses than by the shortening of the sounds.

Lucretius i, 980 hoc pacto sequar atque, oras ubicumque locaris. Here the sense-pause and the caesura come before *atque*, and after *atque* there is but a slight pause, if any. Here is also to be taken into consideration that the final vowel in *atque* had but a slight sound and hardly counted as a part of the verse-foot.<sup>1</sup>

*Aen.* vi, 43 quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum. This line suggests the difference which exists between the reading of prose and verse. While in prose there would be an appreciable pause before *ostia*, in rendering it as verse the pause would be reduced, if not utterly disregarded. While the proper rendering of poetry in all languages makes a distinction between poetry and prose, this principle is not to be carried in the Latin to extremes, which would be intolerable if applied to a living language, as, for example, the disregarding of marked sense-pauses in *Aen.* i, 48.

Catullus 114, 3 aucupium, omne genus piscis, prata, arva ferasque; 115, 5 prata, arva, ingentis silvas vastasque paludes. The character of these elisions is similar to those last mentioned. They occur in poems of mock-heroic spirit and ironical tone, which contain a higher percentage of elisions than even Lucilius. These lines are intended to be read in harmony with their mock-heroic tone in the heroic style and

<sup>1</sup> See p. 93, footnote.



without pause. Such an enumeration of details would hardly allow a pause in any kind of verse.

Statius *Theb.* iii, 348 vociferans: arma, arma viri, tuque optime Lernaee. In this verse also the thought does not seem to favor a pause. In this line and in the one last cited the elision is favored by the concurrence of the same vowel in both syllables of the elision.<sup>1</sup>

There remains for consideration one other elision in which the second syllable is the long accented syllable of a noun, — Catullus 62, 5 Hymen O Hymenaeae, Hymen ades O Hymenaeae. While *Hymen* is here a vocative, it is not of the character of the one in *Aen.* viii, 364, to which reference has been made. This verse, which is repeated as a refrain, is to be regarded rather as a quotation from the Greek than as a Latin phrase. It indicates the Greek elision just as the imitation of Vergil in Ovid. *Metam.* iii, 501 dictoque vale 'vale!' inquit et Echo, represents the method of Vergil rather than that of Ovid. Furthermore the corresponding syllable of the adjective is short, and in the Greek, *Hymen* is accented on the ultima. The penult would thus be less prominent in Latin even if the place of the accent were not actually changed.<sup>2</sup>

With the single exception of this last case, which it seems natural to exclude from our consideration of Latin elision, none of the cases considered involves a marked sense-pause nor coincides with the caesura.

I have cited a sufficient number of examples to illustrate the relation of the accent to the second syllable of the elision when this syllable is short. On p. 87 I have given fourteen examples of an accented short syllable used as the second syllable in elision when the elided words are closely con-

<sup>1</sup> There seem to be good reasons for considering the penult of *arma* as a light syllable even if we agree with Lindsay (*Latin Lang.* p. 97) that *r* did not become a "mere voice-glide." For the quantity of the vowel *a* see *Archiv für lat. Lexik.* XIV, 403.

<sup>2</sup> Though *Hymen* was as a rule pronounced as a Latin word, as shown by the accent in Plautus, still in this verse, which is almost a quotation, its Greek character might be retained in accordance with the well-known rule laid down by the grammarians; cf. Diomedes K. I, 433; Sergius K. IV, 483.

nected in thought. Vergil and Horace together contain about twice as many cases of pause-elision with the second syllable short. Contrasting the pause-elisions in which a short accented syllable occurs as the second syllable with those in which the second syllable is long, we see a very marked difference in the usage of the two classes. The freedom with which accented syllables, whether of nouns, verbs, or adjectives, are used when the second syllable is short is in marked contrast to the restriction observed when the second syllable is long. This difference evidently depends on the difference in character between the short and the long syllable. Not only has the short syllable less prominence owing to its quantity, but the accent is lighter. Seelmann<sup>1</sup> is undoubtedly correct in his view that there is accord between the strength of the accent and the quantity of the syllable. Experimental phonetics also shows that as a rule in modern languages, there is a mutual dependence between accent and quantity, that in general they increase and decrease together (Viëtor, *Elemente der Phonetik*<sup>5</sup>, § 131, 273; Scripture, *Experimental Phonetics*, p. 510 ff.). Several considerations lead me to infer that the accent of a short syllable was relatively light and volatile. After the penultimate law had become well established in Latin, we still find in the drama the recession of the accent in such words as *facilius* (◡◡◡◡). Words ending in *c* and *n*, representing the enclitics *ce* and *ne*, are accented on the final syllable only when long. The exceptional treatment accorded iambic words in elision does not seem sufficiently explained by mere reference to the quantity of the syllables; but it seems to imply that the ultima was the essential part of the word and that the first syllable did not have that prominence which would belong to a syllable having a marked accent. (For the accent of such words as *solidus*, see p. 100.)

Examining the second syllable in the remaining cases of

<sup>1</sup> *Aussprache*, p. 35, "Es findet also eine harmonische ausgleichung zwischen expirationsintensität (ictus) und expirationsextensität (quantität), eine ökonomische vereinbarung zwischen kraftdruck und kraftdauer im worte statt." Cf. Klotz, *Grundzüge altröm. Metrik*, p. 278.

pause-elision in which the second syllable is long, we see that as a rule this syllable is formed by a word which is either a sentence-enclitic, or at least an unemphatic element of the sentence which would not have a marked sentence-accent. They are also, in general, common words which by frequent use have been worn down so that they hardly have the normal value of long syllables. Space will not allow a detailed consideration of Latin accent even in its bearing on the words under consideration, but a few points deserve notice :

The sentence-enclitics are the personal and demonstrative pronouns, when not emphatic, conjunctions, and prepositions. The great majority of words forming the second syllable of pause-elisions belongs to this class. There are also other words, which in exceptional cases are used in pause-elision, and, while they are not enclitics proper, have only a secondary sentence-accent. To this class belong such words as *omnis*, *intus*, *impotens*, which are used in pause-elision in Catullus. That this class of words was regarded as having only a secondary sentence-accent appears from the following passage of Audax, K. VII, 360: *non omnes partes orationis aequales sunt. nam nomen et verbum et participium inter partes omnes excellunt; ceterae his adpendices videntur. nam et pronomen subiacet nomini, et verbo servit adverbium. coniunctio quoque et praepositio ad clientelam maiorum partium pertinent. hae ergo partes, quae adpendices sunt, sic maioribus copulantur, ut tanquam in unam partem orationis coalescant, proprium vero fastigium perdant, non omnes dumtaxat, sed pleraeque.*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This passage is interpreted as referring to sentence-enclitics, apparently on the ground that the remaining part of the passage refers to these; but the broad distinction here drawn between the more important and the subordinate words of a sentence cannot correspond to a classification of words as accented words and sentence-enclitics. The latter would comprise but a very small proportion of the words classified as subordinate in the passage quoted. It is also to be noted that the words immediately following those quoted are in contradiction to what precedes them. The discrepancy was evidently felt by the copyists, who to bring this part into harmony with what precedes wrote *admittunt* where our text follows L. Müller's emendation. The correction is rendered necessary in order to make the sentence harmonize with what follows, with which it is evidently closely connected in thought. It would appear that in Audax's excerpt something

This passage distinguishes two classes of words, those which have a main accent and those which have only a subordinate accent. In the first class are included only the noun, verb, and participle; in the second class are included all other words. These dependent words as they occur in the sentence do not form a definite word-group with the more important words, but they resemble the enclitics of the word-group in being subordinate in accent to the words on which they depend. This is brought out by the expression "ut *tanquam* in unam partem orationis coalescant." To illustrate this relation of the accent of the subordinate word to the main word, we may take such types as the word-groups, bene rém gerit, ad illam hóram. The accent here indicated is the normal accent of Plautus (*Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXIV, p. 73 ff.; Lindsay, *Latin Lang.* p. 170). With these types we may compare the union of the adjective with its noun, or of an adverb with its verb in such cases as *Aen.* xi, 664 postremum, aspera virgo; Juv. vi, 281 ipsa, olim convenerat. *Aspera* and *olim* would seem to be examples of such words as Audax classifies as subordinate words which do not have a sentence-accent.<sup>1</sup> We may refer to classes of words as having a certain normal sentence-accent, though there may in certain cases be a variation from the normal. In a similar way we may speak of the normal pitch of the vowels, though their position in the word or sentence may cause a departure therefrom. It is apparently the normal sentence-accent of classes of words to which the passage in question refers.

In examining the exceptional instances which have been quoted (p. 86) from Vergil, Horace, and Catullus, we see that

has been omitted after the words quoted, and that two passages treating of two different classes of accents have been brought together.

<sup>1</sup> We cannot draw a definite line between sentence-enclitics and subordinate words which have a secondary sentence-accent. For example, unemphatic pronouns are enclitics, but we cannot draw a definite line between their use as enclitics and as accented words. The sentence-accent of *ante venit* must have resembled *ante Caesarem* much more closely than it did *Rómam venit*, though the preposition is classed as a sentence-enclitic, while *ante* (adverb) and *Rómam* are regarded as accented words. Such a combination as is formed by the union of a subordinate sentence-word (but one which is not an enclitic proper) with an accented word, we may call with Sweet a stress-group, or with Sievers a 'Sprechtakt' (*Phonetik* <sup>5</sup>, § 621, 233).

the usage of these authors differed somewhat. In Vergil, besides the cases already considered (pp. 84 f., 87 f.), we find the following words in the second syllable of pause-elision: hic, hoc, hunc, hic (adv.), hinc, ille, illi, optime, aspera, una, ingens, udo, atro. The vocatives, xi, 353 optime regum and xi, 664 aspera virgo, may be compared with *Aen.* viii, 364 (p. 87). There is only a slight pause, if any, before the vocatives, and the phrase-accent is on *regum* and *virgo*. In the case of *una* and *ingens* the first syllable of the elision is *-que*. The vowel in *-que* was doubtless very lightly sounded, and in some cases was almost a negligible quantity; and in this as in many other respects, the stately hexameter reflected the usage of the spoken language. This light pronunciation would apply to the *-que* at the end of so-called hypermetrical lines and in pause-elision, especially if such a syllable was not found in the author in question in other combinations.<sup>1</sup> The case of *una* differs from the others we have considered in that the vowel in the second syllable of the elision is long.

Only two cases in Vergil remain to be considered. If our texts containing *udo* and *atro* in pause-elision are correct, these two cases would stand by themselves as quite exceptional. The first of these is *Aen.* v, 681:

indomitas posuere; udo sub robore vivit.

Ribbeck's critical edition<sup>2</sup> has the following note on *udo*: "duro Macrobiani ω exc. Par. 1." He does not, however, state that some of the best Mss of Servius imply a variation in the reading. Thilo and Hagen's edition of Servius contains the following note on this passage: "VVDO SVB ROBORE F VDO SVB R~~U~~N VDO SVB D. R. LM VDĒ SVB DER H. propter D. in Servianis libris additum moneo Macrobiani codices Sat. vi, 6, 18 duro sub robore praeberē." <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Professor Lindsay (*Capt.* 26) shows that *e* was entirely silent in certain cases in Plautus, and he compares with this the hypermetrical use of *-que* and *-ve* in classical poetry. The fact that a vowel with *m* is similarly used by Vergil (*Georg.* i, 295; *Aen.* vii, 160) is opposed to the theory that the hypermetrical syllable was entirely silent. Again, the general character of epic verse as contrasted with dramatic would tend to keep the vowel sound from being entirely disregarded in pronunciation (cf. p. 101). We may even doubt whether the vowel in *est* was always silent in elision. Cf. Mar. Sacerd. K. VI, 493.

<sup>2</sup> See footnote on p. 110.

The VVDO of F may be explained as arising from *duro* contained in a Ms written in the cursive hand, or as a perpetuation of an error arising from this source. *d* and *r* are often interchanged in Vergil (Ribbeck, *Prolog.* p. 243). One example is also found of the confusion of *d* and *v*. In N the break is explained by reference to LM, where D. R. evidently stands for *duro robore*. In H these letters have given rise to SVBDER. There was probably a marginal correction indicating that *duro* was to be substituted for *udo* and to be placed after *sub*. The change from *udo* to *duro* in our texts involves the change from *posuere* to *ponunt*, and this is one of the strongest grounds for the change of *udo*. There is a definite unity of thought and expression from line 675 to 686, or even to 692. All the verbs of the passage are in the present tense with this one exception, and this variation of tense does not seem necessary, or even justified by the thought. With these changes the passage would read as follows (v, 680-682):

sed non idcirco flamma atque incendia vires  
indomitas ponunt; sub duro<sup>1</sup> robore vivit  
stuppa vomens tardum fumum, lentusque carinas. . . .

The rhythm of the verse in this form has not the lightness and rapidity of the version in our texts, but it is more in harmony with Vergil's method in such passages as the one before us. The rhythm of the texts is quite out of keeping with the thought as well as with the rhythm of the preceding and the following line. It seems entirely inappropriate to use the rhythm to describe a fire eating its way into wet wood which would be in place in describing a fire crackling in the dry leaves.<sup>2</sup> In the line as given above we have the slow, stubborn progress of the fire working its way into the hard oak, described in a form which is full of energy and

<sup>1</sup> Macrobius's reading is *duro sub robore*, and this more nearly preserves the rhythm of our editions.

<sup>2</sup> This light rapid rhythm seems entirely in harmony with i, 175:

succipitque ignem foliis atque arida circum  
nutrimenta dedit rapuitque in fomite flammam.

Cf. ii, 705 and 706.

force, and one which is in harmony with the preceding and following line. This rhythm is frequently used by Vergil to express that which is impressive and awe-inspiring.<sup>1</sup> If the Roman critics with their tendencies to realism in art, although these tendencies were utterly at variance with the ideals of Vergil, were confronted with the two readings of this verse, they might be expected to prefer *udo* as being in harmony with the attempts to extinguish the fire. *Duro* is, however, more in keeping with the description of the fire as making irresistible headway in the hard oak. Whatever be our view of the origin of these two versions, or of their relative merits, it would seem highly probable that at an early date, certainly before the time of Macrobius, there were two readings of this verse, and that the retention of *udo* involves a form of elision which is most exceptional in Vergil.

I shall not dwell at length on the last exceptional cases in Vergil, — ix, 333 :

tum caput ipsi aufert domino truncumque relinquit  
sanguine singultantem ; atro tepefacta cruore  
terra torique madent.

Ribbeck's note on this is as follows : " *ATRO potest et superioribus adplicari, ut sit intellectus : sanguine singultantem atro, potest et sequentibus iungi, sed melius sequentibus.* Servius Dan. Post singultantem interp. M."

Little dependence is to be placed on the punctuation of our early Mss. It is often from a later hand. In a passage like the one before us, *sanguis* is often modified by *ater*. Here it seems more natural with *sanguis* than with *cruor*, which is practically synonymous with *sanguis ater*. The emphatic position at the beginning of the second clause does not seem appropriate. The hephthemimeral caesura is here more natural and effective than the penthemimeral. L. Müller (*de Re Met.*<sup>2</sup> 204) regards this pause as frequently

<sup>1</sup> We may compare the line in the form given with ii, 218 :

bis medium amplexi, bis collo squamea circum.

The latter part of the line may be compared with such lines as ii, 85, 107, 133, 278.

employed "ubi asperitatem cruditatemque rerum versus congrua imagine quasi depingit." This line is practically a run-on-line, and is more easily read as such if the caesura comes after *atro*, and this is more in harmony with Vergil's usage when there is no pause in the following line before the penthemimeral.

In Horace the most exceptional cases of pause-elision are in connection with the words *addens*, *accipe*, and *auffer*. It is important to notice that these are found in *Sat.* ii, 3. The language of this satire resembles that of comedy and in its use of elision is influenced by the drama. The percentage of elisions in this satire is twice as great as it is in the other satires of the second book. If we take into account only the lines in which these elisions occur and in each case the four preceding and following lines, we find for these twenty-seven lines a higher percentage of elisions than the average of Lucilius.<sup>1</sup>

With reference to Catullus we have already referred to the use of *Hymen* (p. 89) and *arva* (p. 88). In 8, 9 *tu quoque*, *impotens*, *noli*, *impotens* may be compared with the vocatives in *Aen.* viii, 364 (p. 87), and xi, 353, 664 (p. 92 f.). The stronger accent on the vocative in this case, owing to its emphasis and its use as a noun, is counterbalanced by the light syllable *-que* in the first syllable of the elision (for the sound of *-que* see p. 93, footnote 1). The most noteworthy cases which remain are the following: 9, 1 *Verani*, *omnibus*; 14, 19 *Suffenum*, *omnia*; 75, 4 *amare*, *omnia*; 114, 3 *auspicium*, *omne*. The language of these poems reflects the freedom of the conversational style, and in the use of elision shows the influence of the drama. The percentage in these four poems is nearly as high as the normal percentage of the Latin language,<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> The accent of *addens*, *accipe*, and even *auffer* was doubtless comparatively weak, owing to the fact that it fell on the prefix. This view is favored by the usage of the Vulgar Latin, which transferred the accent in compound verbs from the prefix to the stem vowel of the verb. Compare *demórat* with Ital. *dimora*, Fr. *demeure* (*Class. Rev.* V, 407; Lindsay, *Latin Lang.* 164). It is noticeable that the accented prefix of the verb occurs in pause-elision in a few instances, though the accented stem vowel of the verb is not thus admitted.

<sup>2</sup> Maurenbrecher, *Hiatus u. Verschleifung im alten Latein*, 251.



between three and four times as high as in Catullus' sixty-fourth poem.

With the exception of the dramatists, Lucilius uses elision the most frequently of all Latin poets.<sup>1</sup> He often employs such as we have noted as occurring exceptionally in certain parts of Horace's satires and in some of the shorter poems of Catullus. We may note the following: 79, 2 inquam, omnia, 4 a; 99 vela, omnia, 5 a; 119, 11 velle, his, 4 t; 185, 4 bulga. haec, 3 a; 263 furique; addens, 3 t; 264, 2 fecere. adde, 3 t. He presents also the following instances which are hardly paralleled in later Latin literature: 119, 4 rectum utile, 4 a;<sup>2</sup> 245 nam veluti 'intro' aliud longe esse atque 'intus' videmus; 346, 2 te: hilo, 3 t; 511 iam, órdo; 622 pér-versa: aera; 657 Gnato, úrge! There does not seem to be any reason to assume that Lucilius strove to avoid a long accented syllable in the second syllable of pause-elision. This was doubtless one of the characteristics of his verse which led Horace to criticise so severely the style of his predecessor to whom he owed so much. Horace has apparently shown in *Sat.* ii, 3 the extreme limit to which he considered that satire was permitted to go in its approach to the conversational style.

Persius has a very high percentage of elisions (49 per hundred lines). Both their frequency and their somewhat exceptional character are in harmony with his effort to make force of expression compensate for lack of boldness and originality of thought. The most striking cases are iii, 7 itane? ocius, 5 a, and i, 111 euge! omnes, 2 t; (for a consideration of these see p. 108). Though elision is used more frequently in Phaedrus than in Vergil, yet it entirely conforms to the general principle governing the accent in pause-elision. Lucretius's percentage does not fall much below that of Vergil, but with one exception (see p. 88) I have not

<sup>1</sup> The number of elisions occurring in the Roman poets is given by Fr. C. Hermann, *Die Elision bei den röm. Dichtern*. His statistics are correct in the main, with the exception of the drama, as far as I have verified them.

<sup>2</sup> This elision does not seem to be paralleled by such a one as occurs in the rapid enumeration in Lucretius i, 744 aera solem ignem terras animalia frugis.

found any noteworthy cases of pause-elision. Juvenal has thirty elisions per hundred lines, but does not show any exceptional uses. Statius comes next to Juvenal in the number employed, and in his heroic verse he has even a higher percentage. Though he shows the influence of his master Vergil in respect to the frequency with which he employs elision, yet he does not attempt to use it to obtain bold effects. We might expect that Propertius, owing to the boldness of his thought and expression, would show this characteristic in his use of elisions, but both in their number and character he conforms more nearly to the standard of Ovid and Tibullus than of Catullus.<sup>1</sup>

A survey of Latin verse leads to the conclusion that after the age of Lucilius it was a recognized principle that in elision the second syllable when long should not receive a strong sentence-accent when this syllable was preceded by a marked sense-pause. Hence we do not find an accented long syllable of a noun thus used. Similarly, verbs in which the first syllable is long and accented are avoided. In rare instances a compound verb is found in pause-elision, especially if the syllable does not contain a vowel naturally long. The most marked exceptions to the general rule are found in that verse which reflects something of the freedom of the conversational style. If the exceptional instances depended merely on chance, and not on the character of the verse in which they occur, we should expect to find the number of exceptional cases correspond to the number of elisions and not to vary with the general style of the poem. This is, however, by no means the case.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Propertius has 24 elisions per hundred lines ; Ovid, 17 ; Tibullus, 14 ; and Catullus, 44.

<sup>2</sup> I have selected those authors who make the freest and boldest use of elision, and I have attempted to give the most marked exceptions to the principle set forth. An even stronger statement of the principle than that made above may seem justified by the facts : A long syllable as the second element of elision (not including such as may be called defective long syllables) does not receive a strong sentence-accent when the pause before the accented syllable is marked, but in verse reproducing the conversational style there may be a sentence-accent (though not the strongest), especially if the sense-pause is not marked. I may inadvertently have passed over some exceptional cases which a second reading of

Let us now turn to the interpretation of the rule and consider some of the inferences which may be drawn from it.

The prevailing view appears to be that the language of Plautus is natural while that of Vergil is artificial. This view seems to be due to failure to recognize the essential difference between the art of epic and dramatic poetry. We cannot apply the same standards to the verse of Vergil, Dante, and Milton as we do to that of Plautus, Molière, and Shakespeare. Professor Lindsay (*Capt.* 12) says: "The diction of Augustan poetry was in great part an artificial language, with artificial forms, like our pronunciation of the noun 'wind' in poetry so as to rhyme with 'mind.'" The epic of Vergil, like the comedy of Plautus, is the natural expression of the principles governing its art, and the language of the epic grew as directly out of the living language of Rome as did that of comedy.<sup>1</sup> The language of Cicero's orations and letters is not the language of Plautus, but it is as truly the living language of Rome. It is not the language of the mart, but of the senate, and a language too that could reach the hearts of the people. The language of Vergil is not further removed from that of Cicero than is the verse of Plautus from the speech of the common people; or we may even say that the language of Vergil is not more artificial than that of Cicero, and that in some respects it is far more natural. The fundamental difference between the prosody of comedy and of epic verse is determined by the objects and ideals of the two arts. Plautus strove to picture real life to the noisy throng of the theatre, Vergil strove to set forth lofty ideals to be read in the quiet

the authors would have revealed, or my judgment in certain cases may differ from that of another. I trust that with all due allowance for the personal equation, and whatever may be the view of the exact interpretation of the examples cited, I have made the general principle clear.

<sup>1</sup> The generally received theory seems to be that in elision the drama reproduces the natural form of the spoken language, while the epic strives as far as possible to avoid elision. Vergil's *Aeneid*, however, approaches as near as does Terence to the number of such vowel combinations which would naturally occur in Latin where no effort was made to regulate their occurrence. While the *Aeneid* has a little more than one-half the normal number of elisions, Terence has nearly twice the normal number. Cf. Maurenbrecher, *Hiatus u. Verschleifung*, 224 and 251.

of the study or in a circle of congenial listeners. As a result comedy adopted a more emphatic method of utterance and emphasized the stress element in the accent; the epic employed a more evenly sustained method of expression. This difference may be expressed by the terms *staccato* and *legato*. The weakening, or even loss, of the vowel in such words as *sol(i)-dus* is to be attributed to this method of utterance and not to a specially prominent accent. Though the principle would apply in this case to the language as a whole, its application can be more clearly illustrated by the language of the drama. In order to be better understood, there would be the tendency on the stage to emphasize the essential parts of words. This would be accomplished by the mode of expending the breath, beginning with a strong impulse and followed by a sudden decrease (Scripture, *Experimental Phonetics*<sup>5</sup>, p. 499). This method of pronouncing the short syllable has been observed to characterize the German stage (Sievers, *Phonetik*, § 593, 223). To counteract the effect of the stress in adding to the length, the syllable would be pronounced without a prominent pitch accent and very short; for not only quantity, but also pitch and stress, contribute to produce the effect of length, and this fact was recognized by the Romans (Terent. Maurus K. VI, 339). This method of utterance in the case of such a word as *solidus* would tend to obscure or even obliterate the short penult, especially if this were unaccented and followed by a syllable with a secondary accent (Brugmann, *Indog. Gramm.* I<sup>2</sup>, § 1066, 976). It is to be noted that the fall in pitch, as well as the decrease in stress, would contribute to this same result (Scripture, 458). In this word the acute accent would necessarily end in a low tone, as the penult has a low tone. We cannot accept Seelmann's (*Aussprache des Latein*, p. 43) interpretation of the acute accent as "ein hochebener stimmton." This is neither in accordance with our best ancient authorities (Aristoxenus, *Harm. Elem.* i, 28), nor in harmony with experimental phonetics (Sievers, *Phonetik*<sup>5</sup>, § 599, 225). The ear only receives a general impression of the varying pitch of a short syllable (Scripture, 473), and the falling pitch would give but a single impression, and this

would correspond to the middle tone rather than to the high tone at the beginning of the syllable. The pitch would accordingly appear lower than the tone of a long syllable which began with the same pitch, but which was more prolonged and more evenly sustained. As a result we find a short accented syllable used in pause-elision where a long accented syllable would not be admissible. (For the relation of pause-elision to pitch, see p. 106 f.)

This principle also affords a natural explanation of the iambic law (*brevis breviens*). The long syllable following the short is not pronounced with the even tone which it would receive under other circumstances, but the first part of this long syllable is obscured because a part of the time of pronunciation is occupied by the recovery of the voice after its fall attendant on the pronunciation of the preceding short syllable. The effect would be to make the syllable short in sound, even though the time of a long syllable were actually given to it. Thus we see that the whole tendency of the method of delivery which characterized the stage would be to shorten and weaken unaccented syllables, and the prosody of the drama gives abundant illustration of this characteristic.

In the epic the tendency is the opposite. Here we have a relatively even flow of speech. This is true of the epics of all languages, and is exemplified by the method adopted by the most effective readers of epic verse. If the epic writers had been at liberty to avail themselves of poetic license, they would doubtless have desired to shorten syllables rather than to lengthen them. Their Greek models abounded in short syllables, and to gain the same effects they would have been much aided by being able to employ a larger number of dactyls, but it was not a matter of choice but of law. Consequently we do not find the shortening of a single syllable in Vergil, if we regard the perfect *-erunt* as representing the original quantity.

The contrast between the tendencies of the drama and of the more formal kinds of poetry is well illustrated by the difference in treatment of a syllable with a short vowel before a mute and liquid. The drama does not employ such a

syllable as long, whereas the other forms of verse often lengthen it.

The ictus also in dramatic and epic verse was treated in harmony with the difference in the character of the verse. As it was the aim of the drama to emphasize the essential part of words, there would be a tendency to have the ictus fall on the same syllable as the main accent; whereas in the more formal kinds of poetry, in order to produce a more even flow, the opposite tendency prevailed. The drama would tend to lay but a slight stress on the ictus when it did not conform to the word-accent. Accordingly it is more difficult to trace any direct influence of the ictus on the prosody of the drama than it is on other forms of verse.

That the word-accent is the main accent in verse receives support from the principle governing accent in pause-elision. It is the word-accent and not the ictus which is avoided in the second syllable of pause-elision. This elision may occur either in the arsis or the thesis of the foot.<sup>1</sup>

Let us illustrate the method of reading pause-elision in Vergil by reference to Dante and Milton; and at the same time one point in the similarity of the structure of their verse will be brought into clear relief. In *Paradise Lost* Milton abandoned his earlier method in the use of an extra syllable before a pause and adopted the method of Vergil and Dante.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The very fact that there is the tendency in some verse to have the ictus correspond with the word-accent, while in other verse there is the opposite tendency, suggests that the ictus has an appreciable force. Again the lengthening of short syllables in the arsis implies a certain amount of stress inherent in this syllable. Although the ictus is only one element of the verse which contributes to the lengthening, yet that it is an element is illustrated by the fact that in upwards of 75 cases of lengthening in Vergil all occur in the arsis.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to see how closely Dante's usage in regard to pause-elision corresponds to that of Vergil. As the second syllable in pause-elision in the *Divina Commedia*, Dante uses: (1) words not accented on the first syllable; (2) sentence enclitics, such as *e, il, O*; (3) words which have but a light sentence-accent, if any, such as *ove, onde, alla, intra, anco, altro, io, hai, era, una, ecco*. I have also noted the two following exceptional cases:

*Purg.* xxxi, 71 Per udir se' dolente, alza la barba.

The imperative *alza* may be compared to the similar use of the imperatives in Horace, *Sat.* i, 5, 12, and ii, 3, 236.

*Inf.* viii, 44 Baciommi il volto, e disse: "Alma sdegnosa.

It is difficult to find any two poets whose principles and methods in art so closely correspond as do those of Vergil and Milton. The English poet resembles his Latin model in displaying the same perfect mastery in musical effects.<sup>1</sup> *Paradise Lost* resembles the *Aeneid* in its general style and structure. Not only are the periods similarly constructed in their individual parts and often end with powerful effect within the limits of the line, but the similarity extends even to the delicate tone-coloring resulting from the predominance of certain vowel or consonant sounds. In *Paradise Lost* the extra syllable before a pause ends with a vowel or vowel sound (pure *l*, *r*, or *n*) and the syllable after the pause begins with a vowel. As illustrations of pause-elision in Milton we may cite the following :

*P. L.* x, 75                      for so I undertook  
Before thee ; and not repenting, this obtain  
of right. . . .

ii, 703 Strange horror seize thee, and pangs unfelt before.<sup>2</sup>

There is general agreement among metricians in regard to the method of reading these lines, and that is the essential point. The disagreement is in regard to terminology, whether such cases shall be classed under the head of trisyllabic feet, elision, or hiatus.<sup>3</sup> But whatever be our theory in

With this use of *alma* we may compare the Latin line introduced in *Purg.* xix, 73, *Adhaesit pavimento anima m.a.*, and the similar usage of Vergil, *Aen.* xii, 142, *fluviorum, animo.*

While Dante's usage in pause-elision corresponds to that of Vergil, but is more strict in conforming to the law in relation to the accented syllable in the second part of pause-elision, Tasso was apparently influenced by the freer method which characterized the Homeric poems, and he even surpassed the Greek in the freedom with which he introduced the accented syllable in pause-elision. In *la Gerusalemme Liberata* we find numerous examples of the accented syllable of the noun, verb, and adjective so used. Cf. i, 485; ii, 198; iii, 192, 408, etc.

<sup>1</sup> The importance of the quantitative element in modern verse is coming to be more and more fully recognized (*Yale Rev.* IX, 32). In the verse of Milton the quantity is as essential and as fundamental as in Vergil.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. x, 86 Of high collateral glory: Him thrones and powers.  
ii, 626 Abominable, inutterable, and worse.  
ii, 878 Of massy iron, or solid rock, with ease.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Tozer (in Moore's *Text. Crit. of Dante's Div. Com.* 721) classes many cases in which two syllables form one verse-syllable as hiatus.

this regard, it would seem evident that these cases are parallel with such as the following : *Aen.* i, 48 :

bella gero. et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat.

The term *elision* is a convenient one to apply to this phenomenon whether in Vergil, Dante, or Milton. No line of demarcation can be drawn in Milton between the cases cited above in which there is a marked sense-pause and such a vowel combination as *th' Almighty*. It would seem clear that Milton regarded the latter as elision from the fact that he omitted the vowel in writing (Bridges, *Milton's Prosody*, p. 50).

Let us compare Milton's earlier use of the extra syllable before a pause with his later method. I desire to emphasize the fact that it is not simply the absolute length of a syllable which makes it long or short to the ear, but its method of utterance and its relation to the following pause. The ear and the eye have their own laws, and these are not in all cases the laws of mathematics. Discussions of prosody do not always appear to have given sufficient weight to this principle. L. Müller (*Hor. Sat. und Epist.* p. xxvi) goes so far in the opposite direction as to justify the introduction of a caesura after a preposition in composition on the ground that it is tmesis for the ear only.

Milton's earlier method is illustrated by the following :

*Comus* 66 To quench the drouth of Phoebus; which as they taste.

The light pronunciation with low pitch which must here be given to the extra syllable, would tend to make it blend with the pause to such an extent that it would count rather as a part of the pause than of the verse proper. This use of the extra syllable involved a method of pronunciation which was more in harmony with the spirit of the drama than with that of epic poetry. In *Paradise Lost* the extra syllable is used in connection with a pause only when the syllable before the pause ends in a vowel, and the following syllable begins with a vowel and is unaccented; or we may say that the hypermetrical syllable is replaced by elision. The first syllable with its falling tone and diminishing sound blends



with the pause, and the following unaccented syllable rises from the pause and completes the verse-syllable. If a consonant intervened, the effect of unity would be broken. With the verse-type in mind, the two syllables produce the effect of one verse-syllable, and the pause does not prevent this any more than a caesura destroys the unity of the foot. The reason for the unaccented syllable as the second part of the elision is readily felt. There would not be the effect of one verse-syllable if the elements forming it were in a different pitch, especially if the first ended in a low pitch and the second began with a high pitch.

It is more essential even in English with its strong stress-accent that the pitch of the two syllables in elision be the same than that the quantity or stress should be similar. This may be seen from such lines as the following:

- x, 86    Of high collateral glory ; Him thrones and powers.  
 xii, 582    Deeds to thy knowledge answerable ; add faith.

In the case of these lines the verse-syllable is more affected by a rise in the pitch of the second syllable than by increased stress.<sup>1</sup>

When there is no sense-pause the second syllable may be accented :

- ix, 1082    And rapture so oft beheld ; those heavenly shapes.

Here the two syllables form one continuous sound with the upward glide, or rising pitch, and thus form one verse-syllable.

I have assumed that the rule which is observed in regard to accent in pause-elision shows that the pause was to be observed in reading.<sup>2</sup> The conviction that the sense-pause in elision should in some way be recognized has often been expressed. For example, Corssen (*Aussprache* II<sup>2</sup>, 781) says that pause-elision is only for the poet and the reader, "auf

<sup>1</sup> As a rule in English, as in many languages, pitch and stress increase together, but they do not necessarily correspond. Cf. Sievers, *Phonetik*<sup>5</sup>, § 658, 245; § 259, 246.

<sup>2</sup> The reason for the unaccented syllable in pause-elision cannot be the same as in elision in which the first part is the ultima of an iambic word. In the latter case the unaccented syllable is used in the second part of the elision in order that the characteristic syllable of the iambic word may not be obscured.

der Bühne kann sie nicht gesprochen und gehört worden sein." This also appears to be the view of Kühner, though it is somewhat differently expressed. Professor Humphreys (*Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* X, p. 40) would pronounce both vowels in pause-elision in Greek, but would not observe the pause. He holds the view that in other cases the elided vowels were suppressed.

The failure to recognize the sense-pause in elision has led to all manner of difficulties in regard to the caesura.<sup>1</sup>

It has given rise to the theory of a "latent caesura" which in reality is no caesura, and has even resulted in the placing of the caesura after a preposition in composition (L. Müller, *Hor. Sat. u. Epist.* p. xxvi).

From what has been said of accent in relation to the pause-elision in Milton, it will appear that I regard harmony in the pitch between the syllables as the essential element.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Elision in the diaeresis of the pentameter is regarded as a defect (Plessis, *Métrique*, 112). Yet Catullus has fifteen cases (*Class. Rev.* XV, 362). The fact that this elision was discarded by later poets does not prove that it was a defect, any more than the fact that Vergil has a larger percentage of elisions than the later writers shows his inferiority in this respect.

<sup>2</sup> Greek verse as a rule avoids a marked sentence-accent on the second syllable in pause-elision, and this accent is indisputably one of pitch. The same general principle applies to the Greek, as has been illustrated in the case of the Latin, though the Greek does not conform so strictly to the rule. We may illustrate the Greek usage by a reference to *Soph. Antig.* and *Oed. Tyr.* We have such cases of the accented short vowel in the second syllable of pause-elision as the vocative *ἄναξ* and the imperatives *ἄγετε* and *ἔρω*. We have noted that the Latin and the Italian display a greater freedom in the use of the vocative and the imperative than in other forms of nouns and verbs. The Greek does not seem to make so marked a distinction between the short and the long syllable in relation to the accent as does the Latin.

In the case of the long syllable in the second part of pause-elision, we find in frequent use such words as have as a rule only a secondary sentence-accent, such as: *οὐτ', εἰτ', ὦστ', εἶ, οἶα*, etc.

The most exceptional examples of pause-elision are the following: the vocative *ἄναξ* found in *Antig.* 563; *Oed. Tyr.* 286, 304, 852. The imperative *ἔσθι* *Oed. Tyr.* 346, 1022.

*Antig.* 305 *εἰ τοῦτ' ἐπίστασ', ὅρκιος δέ σοι λέγω.*

755 *εἰ μὴ πατὴρ ἦσθ', εἶπον ἂν σ' οὐκ εἴ φρονεῖν.*

*Oed. Tyr.* 222 *νῦν δ', ὕστερος γὰρ ἄστος εἰς ἄστος τελεῶ.*

249 *ἐπεύχομαι δ', οἴκοισιν εἰ ξυνέστιος.*

527 *ἠὲδ' αὖτο μὲν τάδ', οἶδα δ' οὐ γνῶμῃ τίτιν.*

interpretation of the rule of accent in pause-elision in Latin, which seems to me to grow out of the nature of the case, emphasizes that element of the accent which our best ancient authorities consider its essential characteristic. Even though we do not concede that they were correct, yet their statements seem clearly to imply that they interpreted *accentus* to be pitch-accent like the Greek. (Cf. *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXV, 65 ff.; Vendryes, 35; Sievers, *Phonetik*<sup>5</sup>, § 570, 216.)

The second syllable in pause-elision in Latin seems to allow an increase in stress rather than a rise in pitch. The second syllable is often such a word as the pronoun *hic*, and it is used in some cases even when emphasis falls on it, as in Verg. *Ecl.* i, 13. We do not, however, find that the pronoun could be replaced by a noun. The natural inference is that this pronoun, which is usually a sentence-enclitic, has the low tone of an enclitic, and that emphasis does not add so much to the pitch as to the stress.<sup>1</sup>

It seems to me that some evidence in relation to the pitch may be derived from elisions which occur at the end of a question.<sup>2</sup> Though we may not be able to prove in any given case that the Romans used the rising inflection, yet in certain cases the probability would be in favor of the rising inflection, in others of the falling. The question arises whether there is the tendency to have an accented syllable in the second part of the elision, when, owing to the question,

In the two lines from the *Antigone* the exceptional character of the elisions is in harmony with the agitation of the speaker; in the three last lines the weakness of the first syllable of the elision is to be taken into account. Cf. footnote on *-que*, p. 93.

The Homeric poems show greater freedom of usage in regard to pause-elision than does later Greek verse. In Homer even accented nouns are not infrequently found, as: *Il.* i, 104; ii, 775, 807, 842; *Od.* i, 429; iv, 261.

<sup>1</sup> The tendency to admit the imperative in pause-elision in preference to other forms of the verb is naturally explained by the relatively low pitch which characterizes the imperative. Horace has the following examples of this use of the imperative: *esto, accipe*, and *aufer* (p. 86); in the *Oed. Tyr.* *τοθι* is thus twice employed (p. 106); one of the most exceptional cases in Dante is the imperative *alza* (p. 102); Milton also presents at least one striking example (p. 105).

<sup>2</sup> No trace of the influence of pitch can be discovered in phonetics (Vendryes, *op. cit.* 39).

the first syllable would naturally have the rising inflection. Let us consider that case of elision in Persius which would seem to be the most exceptional of all when considered simply in relation to the general rule of pause-elision :

iii, 7 unus ait comitum. "verumne? itane? ocius adsit.

The rising inflection would seem to be natural in *verumne* and *itane*. Such an interpretation would explain the accented long vowel of *ocius* in pause-elision. *Itane* probably has at least as prominent an accent on the first syllable as on the second. Here, as often, Persius imitates the form and spirit of comedy, and the normal accent of *itane* when elided, as it is in this case, would be on the first syllable in Plautus (*Amer. Journ. Phil.* XIV, 313). For *tantane* see Probus K. IV, 145.

Catullus 77, 1, 2 Rufe, mihi frustra ac nequiquam credite amice  
(frustra? immo magno cum pretio atque malo).

As in this case there is no means of indicating the question except by the tone of the voice, the rising inflection may be assumed. The accent of *immo*, which would otherwise be exceptional in pause-elision, is explained by the high pitch of the preceding syllable. The following cases of pause-elision seem somewhat similar: Hor. *Sat.* i, 3, 20; i, 4, 126, 137. Such pause-elisions as these, even when the pitch of the two parts corresponds, is more marked and more abrupt than the normal form. In elisions with the low tone in both syllables, the effect of the pause is produced by the fall and rise of the voice, even though the actual pause be but slight. When the syllables in elision have the high pitch, the contrast between the sound and the pause is very marked. Accordingly in the more formal kinds of poetry we do not find elision used with a question which seems to require the rising pitch. The similarity in pitch may also be an element in such cases as *Aen.* ix, 427 me me (adsum . . . , and Persius i, 111 euge! omnes. The accent on the ultima of *euge* is as strong as on the first syllable (Donat. K. IV, 371).

The accent of Latin stands in marked contrast to that of English, in which the stress is strong and is the main element,

while the pitch is not fixed but free, and is a subordinate and variable quantity. In the Latin the element of pitch certainly seems to approach in importance the element of stress, even though it is not here claimed to be the most important element, as is implied in our ancient authorities. In the Romance languages pitch is a more marked element of accent than in the Teutonic languages. This may be attributed in part to their inheritance from the Latin and in part to climatic influences (Hempl, *German Orthography and Phonology*, § 248, 168). Some of the characteristics of the Latin accent may be illustrated by the French accent. We draw the inference from the relation of the accent to the second syllable in pause-elision in Latin that the important words in a sentence, such as nouns, have a higher pitch than unimportant and dependent words, and that long syllables have a higher pitch than short syllables. Distinct traces of these characteristics of the Latin pronunciation may be seen in the French. Viëtor (*Elemente der Phonetik*<sup>5</sup>, § 148, 305) says in reference to the French, "Im Satz trifft der höchste Ton gern die stärksten und längsten Silben."

The principle that the long accented syllable should be avoided in pause-elision appears to be more fundamental in the Greek and Latin than in the Italian and English, in which the element of pitch is less prominent. Tasso shows great freedom in the use of the accented syllable in pause-elision, and Milton in his earlier period did not recognize as essential the principle which prevailed in the Latin and which he afterward followed.

I have shown that a prominent accent is avoided in the second syllable of pause-elision in the more formal kinds of Latin verse. I have shown too that this principle is one of broad application and that it is carefully observed by Dante in his *Divina Commedia* and by Milton in his epics, and that Greek verse, although characterized by greater freedom of construction, does not disregard it. The difference between the treatment of pause-elision, and elision in which the elided words are closely connected in thought, clearly shows that there was a difference in the method of reading the two kinds

of elision. As the principle which underlies the two types of elision in Vergil, Dante, and Milton is precisely the same, it naturally follows that the same method of reading applies in the case of the three authors. There is entire agreement in regard to the way in which the pause-elisions should be read in Dante and Milton, and consequently the method of reading Vergil is thereby clearly indicated.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Additional light is thrown on the exceptional cases of pause-elision by a study of the drama. I shall consider elsewhere in the near future pause-elision in the drama and other phenomena of elision.

The suggestion has been made to me, while this was passing through the press, that the Vergil passage (*Aen.* v, 681) discussed on p. 93 ff. may be explained by assuming that *udō sub rōbre* may have been the common accentuation in prose in these stereotyped phrases, adjective, preposition (unaccented), noun; and that there would be a tendency to assimilate the accent of these expressions to that of pronominal phrases, such as *quibūscum hominibus*, and that accordingly the difference in accent of the two types would be but slight. However, the following considerations seem to me to militate against this view: (1) The use of *cum* as an enclitic proper seems to be limited to pronouns, and we are hardly justified in assuming that it may stand in the same relation to an attributive adjective. (2) If *sub* stands in the relation of enclitic to *udō*, it cannot be assumed that the accent of the penult of *udō* would be affected (cf. ἄλλως πως). It is a question how far even the inseparable enclitic affects the accent of the word to which it is attached. (3) Prepositions show a tendency to coalesce with the noun which follows rather than with a preceding modifier of the noun. Prepositions in Greek are as a rule proclitic. This tendency may be illustrated in Latin by the caesura of such lines as the following: *Aen.* x, 212 *spūmea semifero sub pectore murmurat unda*; cf. v, 525; *Ecl.* i, 8 (cf. *A. J. P.* XXV, p. 415). (4) Elision often occurs in similar phrases, as *Aen.* v, 129 *frondenti ex ilice*, and it does not seem in harmony with Vergil's method in the use of elision, even when the elided words are closely connected in thought, to elide a strongly accented syllable before an unaccented syllable. Such accentuation tends to produce hiatus (cf. *A. J. P. L. c.* p. 273). (5) The relation of the word-accent to the short syllables of the dactyls occurring in the second and third feet is also an important consideration. I hope to show elsewhere that the rule of the accent in the case of these short syllables is very definite. For my present purpose I desire to point out that, when the first of two short syllables is a final syllable of a word of two or more syllables, the second short syllable of the dactyl has an accent and is usually the penult of a dissyllabic word (cf., for the corresponding usage in comedy, Klotz, *Grundzüge*, p. 255).

*Aen.* vi, 460 ff. *invitus, reginā, tū'o de litore cessi.*

*sed me iussā dē'um, quae nunc has ire per umbras,*  
*per loca sentā sī'tu cogunt noctemque profundam,*  
*imperiiis egerē sū'is; nec credere quivi.*

The accent *udō de* would be most exceptional in this part of the verse and would seem to me to mar the rhythmical flow of the passage.